1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

114 564 [614] same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same, and Harwariya may have become Garhvariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: [614] Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

564 1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries past. This group [554] claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurkis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost [177] without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the [585] time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or [302] washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurkis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has [582] now stabilized the *kurkis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaha* Rautiya—those [184] whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible [585] son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. [825] Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several [773] curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the [784] dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 Kathautiyas also throw out their earthenware vessels, but not the
82 wooden ones which are considered to be unaffected by these occur-
768 rences. This may be due to Hindu influences.
415

It was intimated that hypergamy is occasionally practised with
582 the Thakuriyas but in such cases it appears that the girls are "kept"
554 rather than "married". One group of Kathautiyas asserted their superiority over the Thakuriyas and claimed that if a Thakuriya girl came to live with a Kathautiya boy, the Thakuriyas could take her back; but that they would never take back one of their girls who went to live with the Thakuriyas.

Some Kols stated that Binj, Kathariya and Kulmangans are types of Rautiya Kols, but the best evidence appears to be otherwise and these groups are treated separately below.

101 The use of the word "Rautiya" is not confined to the Kols.
171 There is a Munda tribe in Chota Nagpur called Rautiyas and a few
564 members of this tribe are found in the Jashpur State of the Central Provinces. It is also the name of a subcaste of Dahait, a mixed caste of village watchmen of the Jubbulpore and Mandla districts, and several of their subcaste names bear a close resemblance to those of the Kols. It is also a sub-caste of the Kawars and of a section of the Chamars and Rawats (Ahir).[1] The other subgroups of Rautiyas as noted above were not in use elsewhere except that among the Darzis, or tailors there is a Kathautiya subdivision.[2]

2. *Thakuriyas.* Russell and Hiralal[3] are of the opinion
564 that this word is derived from *thakur* meaning "a lord", and they
773 trace this *kurhi* to the intermarriage of Rajput males with Kol females. Such intermarriage probably followed the gradual penetration of the Rajputs into the regions occupied by the Kols. The stories given below concerning the origin of the Thakuriyas probably reflect a long period in which there was a considerable mixture of blood.

According to one story a certain Rautiya Kol had two wives who often quarrelled and the husband saw fit to scold the elder of the two. As a result she left the protection of the Kol and in anger went to the house of the *malguzar* of the village who happened to be a Thakur. She began to live on the veranda of his house, and earned her food with her own hands in any way she could. After some months she gave birth to a son and the Thakur sent word to this effect to her husband, with the request that he should come and take the mother and child

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 402.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 378.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 509.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

When a number of Thakuriyas were asked which *kurbi* is the highest they responded as follows : "Judge for yourselves, the Rautiyas both eat and keep chickens and pigs, but we never touch them. Should a pig stray into one of our houses we have to clean and purify everything and also ourselves. We may eat pork, but always *outside* of our houses and before we can enter them again we must bathe. Our women never eat such meat. So judge for yourselves which is the better group."

3. *Binj*. This name is derived from the Binj hills, the modern Vindhyan range which cuts across the Indian peninsula. At Sihora we were assured that Rautiya and Binj were identical, but apart from this dissenting view this division was generally accepted as a separate *kurbi*. The Binj were usually said to be the highest of all the Kol groups yet no one that we interviewed had actually seen a Binj Kol. They had heard that there was a Binj *Raja* in Rajputana to the north-west, but where he lived now they did not know. They may be related to a Binjhwar tribe in the Central Provinces called "a comparatively civilized Dravidian tribe, or caste formed from a tribe."[1] It is now established that they are one of the subdivisions of the Baigas.[2] They also trace their ancestry back to the Vindhya hills.

The following account was given to us of the Binj Kols : A Thakur or Rajput, fell in love with a Kol woman and the couple ran away together and sought refuge in the Binj mountains. A son was born to them who was named "Binj" after the mountains ; this boy stayed in the hills and was the forefather of the Binj *kurbi*. Other children born to the couple returned with their parents to their old home and gave rise to the Thakuriyas. The Binjes and the Thakuriyas are thus closely linked.

Another story is that a Kol woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son far away in the jungles. Being unable to care for the child she was forced to leave it there. Before long a tiger came across the hapless infant and took it to his den and looked after it. The child grew and lived in the jungle with the tiger and was called Binjhwar. The lad was very intelligent and proved to be a fine hunter and brought the tiger his daily food. When he was old enough to be married the tiger decided that he ought to find the boy a wife, but he was unable to decide how to manage it. One day by chance a Raja's wedding party accompanying the bride-to-be was passing through that very jungle. The tiger saw his chance and frightened the men

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 289.
2 Bhatia, V., *The Baigas*, p. 5 ff.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 713 so badly that they dropped the *palki* in which the girl was being carried, and ran away as fast as they could. The poor girl was at the mercy of the tiger, who brought her to the boy, and gave her to him to be his wife. The tiger then released the boy from his forest life and together the new couple left the jungle and went to Sheori who was the boy's relative, as his mother belonged to Sheori's family. The offspring of this couple became the Binj Kols.

These two stories do not even make the same point but both probably preserve certain traditions: one of a connection with the Binj mountains and the other of some inter-marriage with jungle Baigas or Binjhwars.

564 554 4. *Khangar*. There is a distinct group of village watchmen and field labourers of low caste called by this name and found mostly in northern central India and in the United Provinces. The name is said to be derived from the words *khand*, a pit, and *gar*, a maker or digger; because the Khangar digs holes in other peoples' houses for the purpose of theft. According to another account the name is derived from *khadgahar* meaning a Kshatriya or warrior, who earns his livelihood by means of a *khadga*, or sword.

177 793 554 583 85 171 With regard to Kol Khangars we were told that they were *vavahas*, not making use of Brahmins or other Hindus in social events, such as marriage. They are considered low on the social scale and Rautiyas always avoid them. If a Rautiya girl elopes with a Khangar she can never be received back, and the offspring are Khangars. In Chota Nagpur there is a Khangar tribe which is a branch of the Munda group. The following story is told of their origin:

> Two Munda brothers were travelling with their wives from one place to another. One of the brothers and his wife preceded the other brother in the country. On the way, the former brother's wife was brought to bed of a child. While leaving the place the Munda couple buried the placenta etc., in the hearth which they had improvised at their temporary lodging. Soon afterwards, the other brother came up there with his wife. On opening up the hearth he discovered the placenta etc., buried there and thought that his brother had bagged some game and left a portion of the meat for him to cook and eat. And so the couple unsuspectingly ate the unclean meat. When the brothers met, and the truth was known, the brother who had eaten the unclean meat was excommunicated and his descendants became Khangars.[1]

1 Roy, S. C., *The Mundas and Their Country*, p. 491.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

The Khangars of Central India have a tradition akin to the one related of the Thakuriyas, of a slaughter by a Bundela Rajput after they were made drunk.[1] This may be an altogether different story but probably belongs to the same period when the Rajputs came into Bundelkhand. No first-hand accounts were obtained by us which would shed any light on the origin of this *kurhi*. 564

5. *Garhwariya*. While this name occurs eight times in the list of Kol subdivisions nevertheless we found only one living specimen in spite of the fact that there were said to be many of this group around Jubbulpore. This particular Garhvariya came to us in a group of Thakuriyas and Rautiyas and was the butt of their jokes. He was short and dark and had a very flat nose, much broader than is usual with Kols. The other *kurhis* said to his face that they would have nothing to do with him socially. When asked about himself he said that he was a Rautiya who had the misfortune to be born out of Rewa State and hence was called a Garhvariya. The other Kols present would not agree that this was the real situation. Garhvariyas are considered unclean and no other sept will take their girls or give them their own daughters in marriage. They are mainly employed as field labourers. It is not unlikely that we met others, but they would not admit that they were Garhvariyas. [554] [783] [582] [464]

6. *Mawasi*. Very little was to be ascertained from the Kols about this group. They seem to be a very "low" *kurhi*, and do not even call in a Chamarin to act as midwife and cut the cord of the newly born infant, doing such work with their own hands. They are so low that no social intercourse is possible with Kols like Rautiyas and Thakuriyas. They are considered the most despised of all the Kols and "live just like Basors who are outcastes and make baskets and keep pigs." [844] [554]

The Munda tribe known as the Korkus and found in the Satpura hills of south central India are sometimes called Mowasis.[2] Regarding Korkus Russell and Hiralal state that the sept names of the Korkus are in many cases identical with those of the Kols and Korwas, which may mean that they are an offshoot of "the great Kol or Munda" tribe. The word "Mowasi" has reference to the largest of their subdivisions but its derivation is uncertain. The Census Report for the Central India Agency says : "The Mawasis were reputed to be a fighting section of the Kols."[3] 171 [701]

7. *Kathariya*. This *kurhi* takes its name from *kathri*, a mattress 564 513

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 439.
2 *Ibid.* Vol. iii, p. 550.
3 *Census of India*, 1931, xx: 1, p. 237.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 or quilt which they make from their own worn-out clothes or even
513 from the cast-off clothes of others. These quilts and mattresses are
[784] used in place of blankets and other forms of bedding usually found in
[554] villages, and present a ragged sight when taken out in the sun to air. The Rautiya Kols have a taboo for the Kathariya mattress. Rautiya Kols generally despise this *kurhi* because they do menial work, but this cannot be the main reason.

114 All the evidence that we were able to collect indicates that
513 Russell and Hiralal are incorrect in their conclusions regarding the
564 Kathariyas having the mattress as their totem. They say: "A member of this sept (Katharia) must never have a mattress in his house nor wear clothes sewn in cross-pieces as mattresses are sewn. The word *kathri* should never be mentioned before him as he thinks some great misfortune would thereby happen to his family, but this belief is falling into abeyance." The actual facts which we have carefully checked seem to be the exact opposite.

564 8. *Khairwar*. This is probably the same as a group in Chota Nagpur known under the slightly different name of Kharias. In the year 1937 Sarat Chandra Roy[2] published in two volumes a complete and comprehensive study of this important group. The Khairwars in the Central Provinces seem to be a mixture of jungle tribes and are often confused with the Gonds. Russell and Hiralal say that the most probable derivation of the name is from the *khair* or catechu tree (*Acacia catechu*) from which catechu, "any one of the several dry, earthy, or resinlike, astringent substances got from certain tropical plants and used in tanning and dyeing" is manufactured. We were
[314] given this same information: this group is called Khairwars because its members make *khair*. They are also said to be a low type of Kol
[554] and this work is despised as a profession for now-a-days it is done only by primitive jungle dwellers. It is not unlikely that a group of Kols at one time were active in preparing *khair* and so received this name, but it is more probable that they are somehow related to the Kharias of Chota Nagpur.

9. *Kulmangan*. This is another of the so-called lower types of Kols, the name being derived from *mangna*, "to ask." It appears
[735] that during the time of birth, marriage, death, or special religious functions, members of this *kurhi*, if such it may be called, make it a
[534] practice to ask alms from Kols. On certain occasions they are said to play the *sarangi*—a one-stringed musical instrument. There is no

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III. p. 510, see also Vol. I. p. 91.
2 *The Kharias*.

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some reason or other do not call in a low caste midwife. It was also reported that this group does not make any use of the Hindu priest and is very low in the social scale. Some claimed that this is really a group of Chamars—leather workers in the traditional sense, but Russell and Hiralal do not mention it in their glossary of caste divisions nor does Briggs report it. It is probably of minor significance.

16. *Bhariya* is the same as Bhumiya, see above.

17. *Borowar* does not appear in Russell and Hiralal nor in the list of tribe and caste responses in the 1931 Census. Nor is Barwar found there. Barwar, said to mean "disciple of the *bar* or banyan tree" (*Ficus indica*), is listed among the septs of the Kols in the north by Crooke as was seen in the previous note[1] on his findings. In a later book Crooke speaks of Barwars as a criminal tribe of Oudh.[2]

18. *Pawai*. One group gave the information that this *kurhi* lived in the south, 'Chawhan Khand'. In Singhbhum, Bengal, the Bhuiyas call themselves *Pawan-bans* meaning 'children of the wind'. The Bhuiya highlands are called Pawri Desh.[3] This may indicate a memory of a connection now long lost.

19. *Maubhaiya*. No trace nor information concerning this group could be found. It was reported only once.

The Census of 1891 attempted to record the names of subdivisions of castes in some detail, and the resultant list contained thousands of names of every kind. The Ahir alone had over 1,700 entries. The subdivisions of the Kols manifest the same tendency and show that the groups have absorbed into themselves members from higher and lower castes. The Thakuriyas probably contain a Rajput element and at the other end we find Kols mixed with Khangars, Murhas, Khairwars and Chamars. The Kols of today are probably pretty well mixed with other groups.

MAINTENANCE OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Kols who live in close contact with city life have frequently lost the sense of social solidarity which characterizes the Kols living under more primitive conditions. Various factors in city life, or near-city life, tend to make the same rigid social order impossible, and yet even under these conditions there is an attempt to maintain something of the older traditions.

Almost every village has an elderly man who may be considered in a sense the head-man of the community. He is usually called *Mahato* or literally, the leader. This man is the natural head of the

1 See page 32.
2 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 198.
3 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 316.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

585 (wedding crown) is removed. He then turns to his bride and takes off a portion of the *sari* covering her head and sees her features for the first time. She immediately covers her head again. This is [788] repeated seven times but after the seventh he does not again remove the covering, and it is said that henceforth her head is to remain covered to the day of her death if he outlives her, and to the day of his death if she becomes a widow. A *sari* cloth is now brought and is [554] wrapped about the boy and girl; in the seclusion of this the boy puts 386 some *sendur*, with the little finger of his right hand, on the girl's forehead indicating that she is now a married woman. The first three [926] fingers should on no account be used. The Brahmin now takes his leave, for his work is done, and he is paid a fee usually amounting to Rs. 1-4-0.

585 The boy soon comes out of the house and greets his friends and 574 tells his party that it is time for them to retire to the *janmasa*. Before they are allowed to depart, however, they are invited to a feast close to the *marhwa*. Their feet are again washed and a feast, as lavish as can be managed, is given them. At least the following should be [262 provided: rice, pulse, *bara*, *puris*, curds, spices and sweets. Some- 273 times there is drinking but the Kols are not much addicted to this. The bridegroom begins the feast by taking the first mouthful; then the others may start. Usually they eat seated in a circle on the ground and are entertained at the time by singing and dancing. The bridegroom is paid four annas for starting things off and the rest of the night is spent in this manner.

(c) *Bida* (or *bidai*): The Return of the Bridegroom to his House. The returning party leaves the girl's village on the third day. About noon on that day there is another feast, the final one, which is only for [607] the members of the departing company, except that the bridegroom's [606] *sar* (brother-in-law) also eats with them. The groom refuses to eat until his mother-in-law promises him a gift such as a goat or a cow. The bridegroom is also presented with the gifts which were made to the couple and these are handed over to his *swasa* to keep for him. The men of both parties embrace and put a *tika* of *sendur* on one another, each man waving a pice over the head of another and then presenting it to him. *Ilachi* (cardamom), *pan* and *supari* are distributed.

585 The women now appear in a group and the mother-in-law puts lamp black under the eyes of the boy's father and also sprinkles a bit of *haldi* water over him. The other women do the same to the remaining members of the bridegroom's party. A bit of lac on a string is sometimes tied about their necks. The boy's father drops a rupee into

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

587 to perform the *bhanwar* (circumambulation) seven times about a silver
588 or a gold ring fastened to a *magrohan* stick smeared with *sendur*. This marries him to the ring. Immediately after this procedure he should be anointed with sweet oil mixed with *haldi*—a sign that the "wife" has died and that he is now a widower. He may then put black glass bangles on the widow, and after giving a feast as directed by the *panch* he may take the widow into his home without shame and as if with the permission of the community. Roy has noted a similar custom, only that the bachelor is married to a brass *lota* or a flower.[1] He however, says nothing of the bachelor being made a widower.

587 This type of marriage is very unusual, the more common type of widow marriage being between a real widower and a widow. It may be said in passing that a Kol widower may marry a virgin, and that if this is done the regular form of marriage is resorted to in full.

When a Kol widower wishes to marry a certain widow he should
587 first take the matter up with his *panch*. They look into the matter of
623 relationships and the like, and deal with it on its merits. If it is agreed upon, some one from the *panch* is commissioned to go to the place where the widow is living (probably with her relatives), and through her female relatives make enquiry to see if she would welcome this match. If she is willing and her *panch* has no objection, the way is clear. The widower is told by the *panch* what he will have to do by way of a feast, and this he must do before he is allowed to proceed further. A *barat* is made up and the widower and his party go to the village of the widow where they stay for three days and go through the general procedure as in the case of the regular marriage, without, however, building a *marhwa* or the like, and the general festivities are limited to dancing, singing and eating. The widower must bear all the expenses, none being borne by the widow or her relatives. On the third day the *panch* of her village is called together and certain questions are asked as to their intentions. Upon satisfactory answers they are made to sit together and often they are anointed with oil and vermilion is put on their foreheads. The man is asked to put five black glass bangles on each wrist of the widow and they are considered married. The party leaves soon after this and there is no ceremony that would
[574 correspond to the *gauna* nor *raman*. They go to the man's village
554] where they must feed the community before they are considered to be in good standing.

585 MARRIAGE COSTS. The cost of a Kol wedding is a great financial
511 strain on the parties. Both groups have to pay a part of the costs.

[1] Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 170.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

14. The Wife's Glory.

539
585 *Bundawali are,*
Bunda ke rale uhata gai,
Jota mari gai.

[302
554] O fair one bedecked with that spot of vermilion,
If that be gone
Then shattered is all thy beauty.

15. A Warning Song.

Lakh gori lakh sanwari,
Lakh na chare pahar,
Bich dhar men gir pare,
Kaua gidh na khay.

Though her complexion be fair or dusky,
Though she climb hills *lakhs* of times,
Yet if she falls in the mid-stream of life,
Not even crows or vultures will touch her.

16. Marriage Song: For the Time of Parting.

Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?
Dulha ko bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal.
Hathi bhange ghora jam uni bicharo, uni bicharo,
Gulka khaye langa lugar samp jaye,
Gani gatili jariya jay tang utaye bichhu,
Jay, Mahadeo ko, jay.
Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?

What palanquin carrier will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?
Her husband's carriers will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest.
He asked for an elephant—
But was given a horse,
And a camel was given him too.
If this potent be eaten
All poisonous snakes will fly,
And the scorpion will vanish

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

159 I have tried to be an honest man and the police and government [648 forest officers trust me and have just offered me the post of *Sarkari* 622] *Mukaddam* (government headman) of my village. This is a very high 554] honour for me for which my friends will respect me very much.

BAJRANJI: A KOL AND A FAMINE[1]

I was born in Rewa, my *desh*, but I have no idea of the date of my birth nor of the names of my father or mother. When my parents left Rewa and came to Barela I was just an infant and didn't know much about what was going on. After three or four years my father died in Lunsar village while my mother died in Barela when I was thirty years old.

When my father died I did not get much property, but whatever I got was used up in feeding the people of the community at the time of his death, and later on more was spent on the ceremonial feast following my mother's death. At that time I had a few head of cattle, but soon after four of them were killed and eaten by tigers.

I have been married twice, and by my first wife had two children. The first child was a girl who is now married and who has children of her own. She is about twenty-one years old now. The second child was a boy who is now about twelve years of age. But when these children were about twelve and eight respectively their mother became [587] very ill and died. Whatever money I had, all was spent on her for her recovery, but it was of no use. Then I married another wife and this cost me to a great extent the remaining money that I had. [434] Between the two I spent all the money which I possessed, which was about Rs. 300/- in cash and I found myself moneyless.

When I was a boy I was very eager to learn, but it was very difficult for a Kol to think of studying with the Brahmins. The village school seemed reserved for them. So my parents could not send me and they didn't care much about my education, and though I couldn't [212] study I made friends with an educated boy and he helped me and I finished the first Hindi book, but that too I have forgotten and cannot now read nor write.

When my mother died there were three of us: my sister, my [164] brother and myself. Both my brother and sister have since died of plague here in Barela, but I was saved by God's grace. About eight years ago my brother died leaving his wife and children. I do not [595] keep her with me in our home for I know that it would be hard on me and my wife and that if I keep her it would really mean that there will

1 See plate XXVI.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca.1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Khambā: the sacred post.
Kalas: The water pot.
Chauhā: The small raised platform under the booth.
Haldī: Turmeric (*Circuma longa*).

7. This is a wedding song from Barela. The headings indicate the time the song is sung.

8. The important guests are teased by being told that they are being fed with food fit only for animals.

9. Another song with a sting. Sung in connection with the arrival of the bridegroom's party. From Salavara.

10, 11. From Barela.

12. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela. The whole is a coarse series of jesting absurdities: the unmarried woman can hardly have a daughter-in-law, and yet the latter is pregnant. It is, however, her sister who is fed the food given to women in confinement, and a woman who is a mere spectator to all this suddenly gives birth to the child which a barren woman takes and suckles.

13. A wedding *dādrā* from Katni. The *kadam* tree is the *Nauclea orientalis*. In wedding imagery the bridegroom is frequently likened to a parrot.

14. A *rāī* from Katni. The spot of vermilion denotes a living husband.

15. A wedding song from Barela in which the bride is teased and warned to be careful. A lakh is 100,000.

16. From Barela. The *bardī* is being teased. Kajli forest is a forest frequented by elephants. A *guṭkā* is a magic ball prepared by devoteers which, when eaten, is supposed to make one invisible. Here it makes others disappear

V. Songs of Religion.

1. *Dādrās* from the vicinity of Katni. These are examples of numerous songs of this nature which were collected and translated but are not reproduced here. It is likely that most of the songs centering about Rām and his experiences in search of Sītā are borrowed as in their actual worship Rām is seldom taken into account by Kols. Dasarath was the father of Rām.

3. From Sihora: a *rāī*.

4. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur. The *ghumachī* is said to be a fruit of reddish colour with black spots upon it. It is probably the *ghunghachī* (*Abrus Precatorius*.) For *chakkī-chakvā* birds see notes on 1: 2.

5. This has references to the Rāmāyaṇa story. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur.

6. A song for the *phāg* season, composed in Garha. *Phāg* and *holī* refer to the same season. A *bindā* is a dot or decoration on the forehead to enhance a woman's beauty. Kashi is the holy city of Benares.

7. A *bhajan* called *sumaran*—'song of remembrance'. Hinglās: or Kailās, the holy mount of Siva in the Himalayas. Maihar: a town and state about 100 miles north of Jubbulpore. It is the seat of the main temple dedicated to Shārdā *devī*.

8. A *bhagat* from Jubbulpore. *Lagan*: the wedding horoscope. *Bardī*: the party which comes to the girl's house bringing the groom with